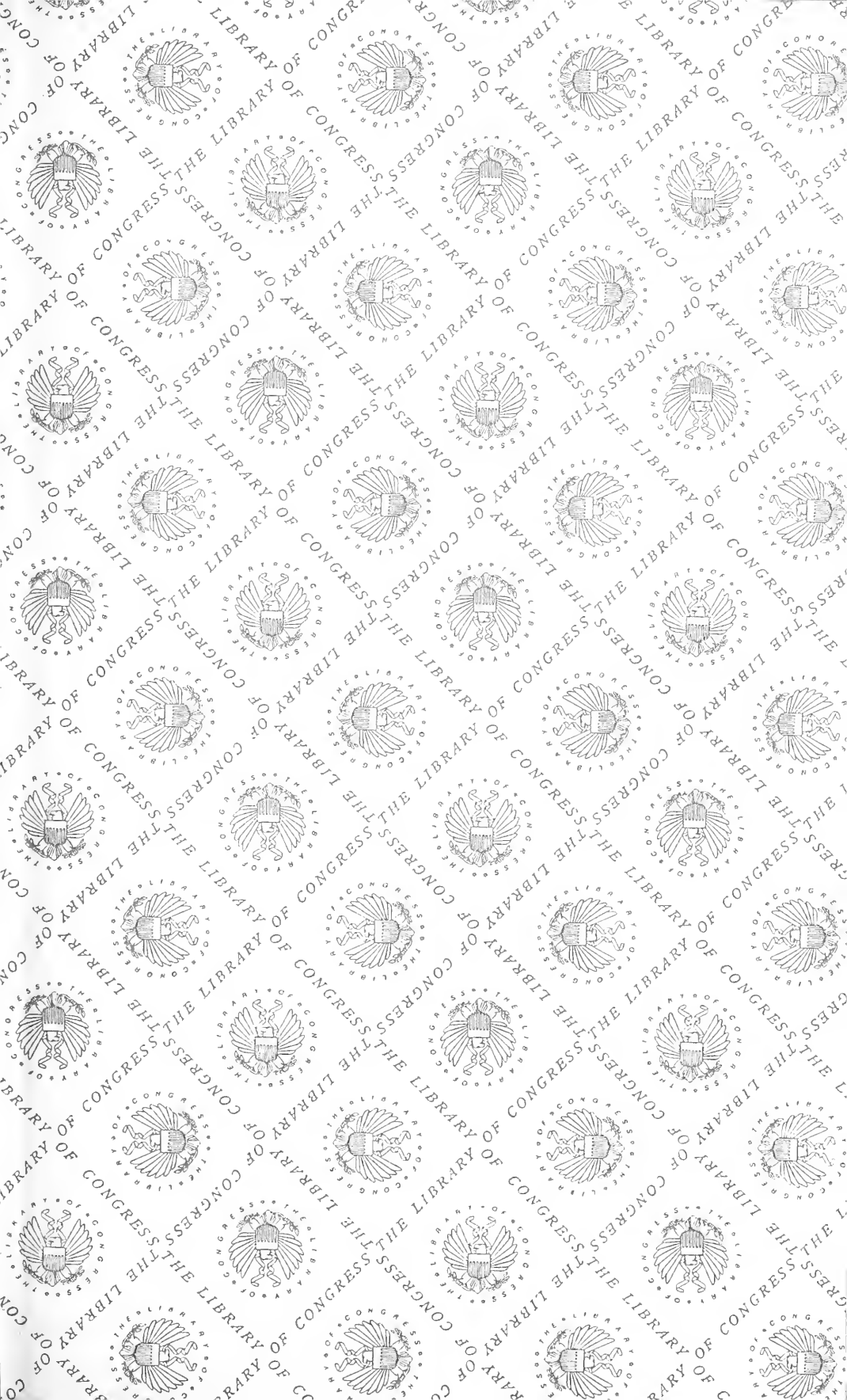


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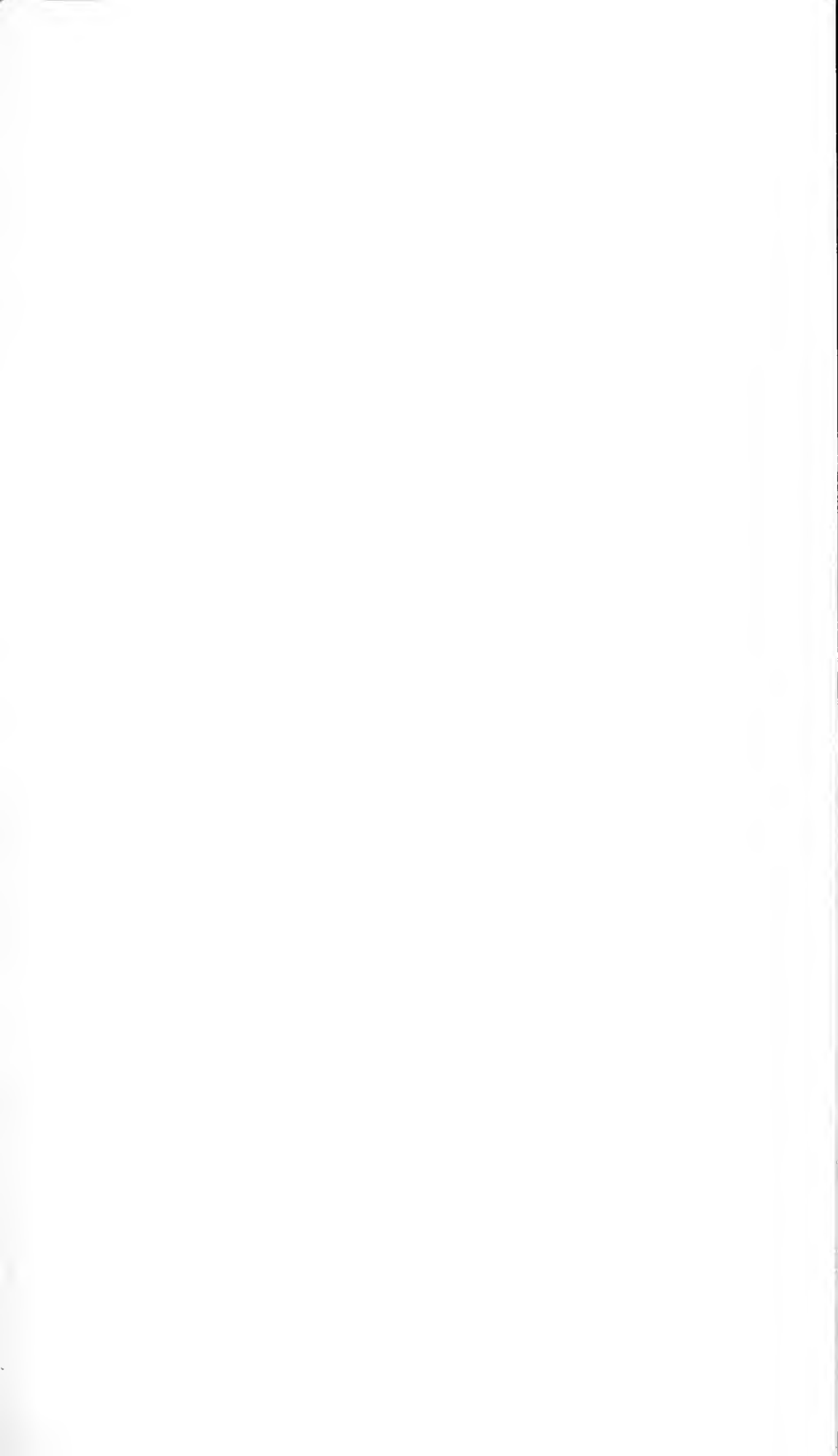
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HISTORY OF THE FILIPINO REVOLT

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD F. PETTIGREW

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

2/1/00
Wednesday, January 31, 1900.

WASHINGTON.

1900.

3.18.



SPEECH
OF
HON. RICHARD F. PETTIGREW,

Wednesday, January 31, 1900.

HISTORY OF FILIPINO REVOLT.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I submit the resolution which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary proceeded to read the resolution, and read as follows:

Resolved, That the Authentic Review of the Philippine Revolution, which is as follows—

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from South Dakota if that is the article or the pamphlet which he asked to have printed yesterday?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I suppose the reading of the resolution will develop what the Senator wishes to ascertain.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, there is a motion now pending to print that article, which I take to be the same, and before it makes a part of the RECORD—before it is printed as a public document—I wish to enter my protest against its being printed as a part of the RECORD and becoming a document of the United States in any form.

I have never made any protest against printing that has been ordered here, of all sorts of articles and speeches on all kinds of subjects, although I think that it is a privilege which is greatly abused; but in this case I do desire to enter a protest, and the reason why I do so is because, in this publication or pamphlet, a number of statements are attributed to Admiral Dewey which I have his authority to say are absolutely false.

Mr. President, that the Anti-Imperialist League and its one newspaper organ should print and circulate anything of any sort without regard to its character is to be expected. It is their trade, and I have nothing to say against it. They are such careful guardians of other people's virtue that they can do things which persons of less virtue than themselves would shrink from performing. But I do think that for the United States to send out under its imprint a series of statements attributing remarks and conversation to the Admiral of its Navy which he states to be absolutely false is something in which the Senate should not engage.

I will read the statement of Admiral Dewey, in a note I received from him this morning:

DEAR SENATOR LODGE: The statement of Emilio Aguinaldo, as recently published in the Springfield Republican, so far as it relates to me, is a tissue of falsehoods.

* * * * *

Sincerely, yours,

GEORGE DEWEY.

Now, I do not think that on that statement we ought in any way to put a pamphlet containing that tissue of falsehoods into the RECORD or print it as a public document. It does not seem to me that it is the proper thing to do. The document would go out and be circulated under a frank, free of cost; no denial could go with it of those lies which have been denounced by the Admiral of the Navy as such, which are attributed directly to him and which, in the pamphlet I saw, were all printed in italics. The pamphlet I read purported to be written by Aguinaldo, and to have been printed, I believe, at Tarlac, in Luzon.

It seems to me to bear the marks of publication and preparation at some place nearer the United States than Luzon or Hongkong. But be that as it may, all these emphasized statements of conversations which, on their face, were reported eighteen months after they were supposed to have taken place, are stigmatized by the Admiral himself as a "tissue of falsehoods." I do not think it is just to him; I do not think it is proper for the United States to allow such statements as that to go out under its imprint and in its official record, and that is why I enter my protest at this point.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, I raise the question of order upon the consideration of the resolution. It seems to me that to put a resolution in this form is a clear and palpable evasion of the Senate rules. As I understand, the Senator from South Dakota undertakes by this method to have inserted in the RECORD a long paper which he asked the Senate yesterday to have printed and which he has a resolution before the Senate to have printed. That resolution, under the rules, must go to the Committee on Printing. The Senator will succeed in this form, if he is allowed, to have this paper printed, which a large proportion of Senators certainly have made strenuous objections to having printed, and he will succeed in having it printed in the RECORD by what seems to me to be a clear evasion of the rules.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. HAWLEY. That it is out of order?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That it is out of order.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, this paper is a translation from a Spanish pamphlet written by Aguinaldo and translated in Boston. It was furnished to the Springfield Republican, and they sent it to their reporter in this city, requesting him to call the attention of Admiral Dewey to the allusions to himself in the document. The reporter did so, and Admiral Dewey, after examining it, replied through his secretary that he would say nothing; that he would adhere to his decision and say nothing upon the subject until the commission made its report.

It now appears that Admiral Dewey has concluded to say something upon the subject, and a letter turns up in the hands of the Senator from Massachusetts in which he says that the statements with regard to himself are a tissue of falsehoods. Now, a statement of that sort could be made simply if Mr. Dewey and Mr. Aguinaldo, in a very immaterial way, almost, misunderstood each other, one construction being put upon the language by one, they not speaking a common tongue, and another construction by the other upon the language used between them. That there was a recognition of Aguinaldo and his government by us and by our Navy there can be no possible question. Admiral Dewey recognized the flag of the Philippine republic and the vessels of that republic in Manila Bay.

Mr. SPOONER. How?

Mr. PETTIGREW. By saluting the flag and by conveying one of the vessels of the Filipino republic to Subig Bay and receiving the surrender of Spanish garrisons, and then turning the prisoners over to Aguinaldo after their surrender.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I ask the Senator's permission at that point—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from South Dakota yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I will not yield. The Senator can speak when I am through.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The debate is proceeding by unanimous consent.

Mr. LODGE. I will read the rest of the letter subsequently.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Now, what is more, Mr. President, after Manila surrendered, while we were negotiating a treaty of peace with Spain, Admiral Dewey captured and confiscated these vessels belonging to Aguinaldo's government and took the flag of that republic from off the sea, a direct act of war against our allies, who to the number of 30,000 were camped around the town of Manila, who had helped capture Manila, who entered Manila with our forces and took possession of a large portion of the suburbs of that city, and who retired after entering Manila with our forces from the inner city and the larger part of the city, which is outside of the old city of Manila.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I rise to a point of order. If this debate is to be engaged in some of the rest of us will want a little time, and I think some agreement ought to be made about it. I take it the Senator from South Dakota is proceeding out of order in discussing the question that has been ruled upon by the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from South Dakota is proceeding by unanimous consent.

Mr. GALLINGER. Now, Mr. President, I have no objection to his going on if it be understood that it is an open debate; but I should be unwilling that the Senator from South Dakota, who has occupied the attention of the Senate for hours and hours in defense of this distinguished citizen of the Philippines, should be permitted to make a lengthy speech and then the rest of us should be shut off from answering. That is the only point I wish to make.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, in the face of these facts, in the face of the evidence in Document No. 62, sent by the President of the United States, that our generals at Paris told our commissioners that we were under great obligations to those people, to Aguinaldo and his army, for the capture of several thousand Spanish prisoners, for driving into the city of Manila and surrounding them with earthworks what was left of the Spanish forces in that country, it seems to me that it is pertinent and proper that the statement of Aguinaldo with regard to the facts connected with this transaction should be laid before the American people. If they can not be laid before the American people otherwise, if this resolution is not to be adopted, if you will not permit the statement to be printed as a document, then we will read it and put it in the RECORD.

Mr. HAWLEY. I shall object to it as treason and giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States, which is what the Senator has been doing constantly.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, it is interesting to listen to the excitement of these people—

Mr. HAWLEY. Who are "these people?"

Mr. PETTIGREW. The Senator from Connecticut is one of them—who are afraid to lay before the American people the facts with regard to a transaction in which this Administration is wrong. If telling the truth, if disclosing what has occurred, is treason, then you can make the most of it. We will tell the truth. We will expose the things which have been done by this Administration, no matter what may be the result. The threat of treason, the talk about encouraging the enemy will not deter us from laying before the American people these glaring facts. If in struggling to prevent the destruction of this Republic, if upholding the Declaration of Independence, if resisting the treason of the President in violating the Constitution, which he has sworn to support, is treason, I am guilty; try me for treason.

Why, Mr. President, when this session opened a simple resolution asking for information was tabled by the majority in this body, and the purpose, evidently planned, was that nothing should be laid before the people of the United States. The policy of suppression in that way became too irksome, and, finally, the effort now is made to refer such resolutions to a committee, and thus smother investigation in that way.

Is this a Republic? Do the people rule? Are they no longer entitled to a knowledge of the history which we have made? Mr. President, locked up in the secrets of the State Department are the reports of our consuls in Cuba previous to the outbreak of the Spanish war. They have never been laid before this body; they have never been made public to the American people. The same course has been pursued through all this wretched business. It accords well with the idea that we shall establish in the place and upon the ruins of the Republic an empire, a government ruled without the knowledge or consent of the people.

If protesting against this is treason, if denouncing this thing is treason, then I am guilty, let the consequences be what they may.

Mr. President—

Mr. CHANDLER. I object to further debate.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I do not care to discuss the question further this morning.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, it seems to me rather harsh that, after the charges which have been made here under unanimous consent, those of us who take the opposite view should be suddenly cut off from all reply. There should surely be some fairness in such a matter. It has been charged here—

Mr. COCKRELL. We have not objected on this side.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I hope the Senator from New Hampshire will withdraw his objection.

Mr. CHANDLER. I withdraw my objection.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] is recognized.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, my objection to this pamphlet is not that it contains the truth, but that it is a mass of falsehoods. I want all the truth published, and I for one resent this continual heaping of slanders upon the men charged with our Departments and with our executive affairs, that they are holding back information from the American people. It is their one desire to lay everything before the American people; and when that mass of papers we have called for is put upon that desk and printed, the

persons who will regret their appearance are not those who are supporting the Administration and its policy, but those who have slandered it here and elsewhere.

Mr. President, it has been stated here in so many words this morning that Admiral Dewey saluted the Filipino flag, that he recognized the independence of the Filipinos. These assertions are added to the charges in that lying pamphlet, translated and printed in Springfield, although the copy I saw purported to come from Luzon. I wish now and on this account to read the whole of Admiral Dewey's letter. I had no desire to bring Admiral Dewey into this any more than was absolutely necessary. I thought the few sentences that I had read were enough to show to the Senate, without any distinction of party or of difference of opinion on this case, that it was neither becoming nor proper to give the imprint of the United States to such material as this. Let us circulate the truth by all means, but do not let us circulate under the imprint of the United States branded slanders, which are attributed—whether rightly or wrongly I know not—to the authorship of a man who has been fighting the United States, or at least employing others to do so. I will read the whole letter:

The statement of Emilio Aguinaldo recently published in the Springfield Republican as far as it relates to me is a tissue of falsehood. I never promised him, directly or indirectly, independence for the Filipinos. I never treated him as an ally, except so far as to make use of him and his natives to assist me in my operations against the Spaniards. He never uttered the word "independence" in any conversation with me or my officers. The statement that I received him with military honors or saluted the Filipino flag is absolutely false.

Sincerely, yours,

GEORGE DEWEY.

Mr. President, we all know that the insurgent troops were used in the operations about Manila. This charge about saluting the Filipino flag and receiving Aguinaldo with military honors has been repeated and reiterated here day after day before the Departments have had time to send in the official facts; and now, in the presence of that denial from the most distinguished naval officer and Admiral of the United States, we are asked to send out, with the imprint of the United States, the slanders and the falsehoods contained in that pamphlet. I do not know what others may think, but as for the word of that pamphlet against the word of George Dewey, I take the word of George Dewey, as the people of the United States will take it, as final; and I do not think that the Senate of the United States ought to lend itself to any such business as this.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, no one, I think, in the Senate or in the country would countenance any attempt anywhere to diminish the exercise of what is precious to all of us—liberty of speech; but I believe the people of the United States—and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] asks whether they rule or not—must, in the circumstances of to-day, grow weary some time, if they have not already grown weary of the daily trial in the Senate Chamber, upon motions of inquiry, of the suit of Aguinaldo against the United States.

There ought to be a line drawn somewhere, Mr. President, in this matter. It may not perhaps be drawn in debate, but it may be drawn as to the placing upon the permanent records of this Senate of such communications as the Senator from South Dakota seeks by this rather evasive means to place upon them.

When before has it ever been proposed—and I do not intend to discuss the question as to what we shall do or what we ought to

do in the Philippines, the question which the Senator from South Dakota daily seeks to discuss here—but when before has it been proposed in the Senate to place upon the records of this body a justification, or attempted justification, of his cause by a man in arms against the flag and against the Government of the United States? It is not simply a question whether the statements contained in that paper are true or false. So far as the American people are concerned, they will believe the statement of Admiral Dewey; and when the Senator from South Dakota asserts as a fact that Admiral Dewey saluted the flag of the so-called Philippine republic and Admiral Dewey says he did not, there will be no longer in the public mind, I think, if there ever has been, any question about it.

But here is a proposition to place upon the RECORD, coupled with a proposition yesterday to circulate it as a document printed by the Senate, a statement by a man in arms against our flag, spending his days and his nights in concerting measures by which he can kill the soldiers who rally around that flag—a statement intended to show that his cause is a just one and that our cause is not a just one.

Mr. President, my objection to that is not that it sends the truth over the country; it is the effect it will have upon Aguinaldo and his forces, for it will be taken to be an adoption by the Senate of the United States of his statement as a true statement, worthy under the public imprint to be sent throughout the country. Does it need any argument to show that the effect of such action by the Senate can not be otherwise than detrimental over there? Can it be otherwise than a direct encouragement to those in what I call insurrection against this Government and against our flag? Whatever the people may say after a while about this question when the war is ended, I think they stand by the Army of the United States, Mr. President, and that they will have no sympathy with any utterance, here or elsewhere, which endangers the life of one man wearing the uniform of the Federal Army and fighting 7,000 miles away under orders and under the flag.

Mr. President, there has just reached San Francisco an American ship bearing to his last rest the body of General Lawton, killed on the firing line under our flag in the Philippines—as chivalrous a soldier as ever led a column into battle. He is dead. His broken-hearted widow and children are bringing him back to his own land and to a people who love him and admire him, not only for his long life of splendid military service, but for his gallantry and fidelity over there in the struggle against Aguinaldo and to carry forward our flag and the authority of the United States. Dead he is; but, Mr. President, he still speaks; and I want to read here on this occasion his opinion as to the effect of such propositions as this and some of the debate we listen to here upon the safety of the Federal Army:

I would to God that the whole truth of this whole Philippine situation could be known by every one in America as I know it. If the so-called anti-imperialists could honestly ascertain the truth on the ground and not in distant America, they, who I believe to be honest men misinformed, would be convinced of the error of their statements and conclusions and of the unfortunate effect of their publication here—

That is the point of his letter—

If I am shot by a Filipino bullet, it might as well come from one of my own men, because I know from observation, confirmed by captured prisoners, that the continuance of fighting is chiefly due to reports that are sent out here from America.

Mr. President, the debate will go on; these resolutions of in-

quiry and propositions like this will go on without doubt, but I venture to hope that there may be a truce—I ask only for a short one—until General Lawton's body may be brought from San Francisco and laid away in the spot which is to be his last home on earth.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, the ship which brought General Lawton's body to this country brought also the body of one of my dearest friends, the adjutant of the First South Dakota Regiment, killed after the treaty of peace was signed, killed in a service in which he did not enlist, killed in a service which he believed was wrong. Yet, brave boy that he was, he led his forces to victory many a time and finally fell in that distant land.

Mr. President, I want a truce. I wanted it before my friend was killed. I wanted a truce before the sixty South Dakota boys were killed. Aroused by a just indignation and a grand patriotism and a splendid enthusiasm, they enrolled their names to drive from this continent the despotic power of Spain. But they are gone, drafted into an unwilling service and killed in an unwilling service, after they had a right to go home—after their term of enlistment had expired. With unparalleled bravery and courage they obeyed the commands of their President and went to their death.

The day after fighting began at Manila, Aguinaldo asked for a truce. He said, "Fix the limits of a zone which we shall occupy, and let us try, without bloodshed, to settle this difficulty;" and the answer was, "Fighting having once begun, it must go on to the grim end." But if the request had been granted, if the truce had been given, General Lawton would be living to-day and the South Dakota boys would be in the bosoms of their families instead of moldering in the soil of Luzon. Day by day, constantly from that time to this, the Filipinos fighting for freedom have sent their envoys asking for peace, begging a truce. The President at Fargo says Aguinaldo offered peace for independence. Peace for independence!

He said he had another price for peace a short time ago, but the United States never gave gold for peace. Aguinaldo did not ask gold for peace. He asked for that boon, dearer than life, which made our forefathers found this Government and which has brought into being every republic throughout the world. Fight until they surrender! If that rule had been applied, the war of the Revolution would still be going on. No self-respecting people would lay down their arms at such a challenge.

That the Filipinos have the capacity of self-government is demonstrated by that fact. All we have to do to stop bloodshed in the Philippines is to say to those people they shall have that priceless boon which is so dear to us and which they have shown is dear enough to them that they are willing to lay down their lives for it. Why shall we not do it? Why shall we continue this war of aggression? But a few provinces only in those islands have been conquered. Our troops occupy less than one-quarter of the area, and over the rest Aguinaldo's government still prevails. That is the situation to-day. All the provinces of northern Luzon are untouched, and the peaceful government which Sargent and Wilcox describe is still being carried on. Much of the southern part of Luzon is still unoccupied by our troops. Almost no portion of the other islands of the archipelago have been occupied by us. We are on the shore and in but a few places; and this war,

in my opinion, will go on and on for years unless we say to those people that which we ought to say and say it at once, "You shall have your independence."

This talk about revolt, about fighting insurgents, it seems to me, is absurd. How can we have title without possession? I think it is a fair proposition, well sustained in international law, that when a country is purchased, possession must come in order to give sovereignty. Spain could not give any possession, because her power was ousted and another government existed in its place. There is no revolt; if we stop fighting, the war will be over.

The other day the Queen of England, in her message to the Parliament, made this statement:

In resisting the invasion of my South African colonies by the South African Republic and Orange Free State my people have responded with devotion and enthusiasm to the appeal which I have made to them, and the heroism of my soldiers in the field and my sailors and marines who were landed to co-operate with them has not fallen short of the noblest traditions of our military history.

Here, then, is a charge that the Boers have attacked Great Britain. The same charge is made against the Filipinos, although the facts do not bear it out any more than they do in the case of the Boers. The excuse, then, is the cry of the flag, the appeal to patriotism, the effort to rally our people to sustain an Administration in doing the greatest wrong ever perpetrated by a government in the history of the world. It is the policy Great Britain has followed always, and she has become our teacher and our director in our affairs. Great Britain in all her conquests for the last fifty years first got in where she had no business to be, and has placed her armed forces in antagonism to the liberties of other people, and then when the flag was fired upon she has rallied her people to the defense of the flag.

She has said, "We can not talk peace. We can not listen to the proposition of right or wrong, or questions whether we had a right to be there or not, until the enemy surrenders." It was so in Ireland from the earliest day. Trouble occurred in Ireland because of resistance to oppression and aggression and wrong, and then they said, "The strong arm of British power must be used to suppress discontent in Ireland, and when it is suppressed then we will try and do right," never doing right when Ireland was pacified by power. Outbreaks again occurred, and then the same plea was made to the English people; and so it has been around the world.

The South African Chartered Company have killed in South Africa in the last twelve years 4,000 men and themselves have lost but five or six men, with the same old plea, adding territory after territory to their possessions; and now it is argued in the English Parliament, now it is insisted by the Queen of England, that the fighting must go on in South Africa until the two Republics in South Africa are destroyed. The same argument is heard here. Fighting must go on to the grim end, until these men struggling for freedom are all killed or lay down their arms and surrender, and then we will determine, without their being consulted, what shall be done with what is left.

Against this, Mr. President, I protest. I believe that it is an attack upon our institutions, a reversal of the history of this Government, and an abandonment of those doctrines which we have held so dear through all the years of our existence as a nation.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] a few moments ago read what I understood to be a letter from General Lawton. I do not know where the letter came from, when it was written, or to whom; I do not know whether to the Senator or not.

Mr. SPOONER. It was not written to me.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. I take it the letter was written by General Lawton, and I very heartily concur in the wish expressed by him in the beginning of that letter, when he said, as I remember it now, "Would to God that the whole truth there could be known."

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] stated that the greatest desire of the public officers in this country was to have the facts understood. Mr. President, I submit, without any temper and without any feeling, that we can not fail to have faith in the intelligence of the people of this country. I believe that the wish expressed by General Lawton is a wise one, and the desire expressed by the Senator from Massachusetts for the circulation of the truth here is just what ought to be our rule of conduct. I believe the whole truth ought to be known.

I think the most unfortunate thing in connection with this whole difficulty was when the first resolutions of inquiry were offered here that without any moment of consideration, without a solitary syllable of time for thought, motions were made to lay them on the table, thus manifesting an intention to cut off debate, to suppress facts, to keep information away from Senators and from the people of the United States.

It has been the practice here for a great many years when eminent men give expression to sentiments touching public affairs that, on the request of a Senator, a document shall be printed giving what they may have said or written and that it shall appear in the RECORD.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is a very recent practice.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. It has been done again, again, and again, and without protest, ever since I have been in this body. I can name instances which I think will show the printing of such papers by the hundreds, if not by the thousands.

Mr. ALLISON. Only within very recent years. It is a custom that has grown up here within the last two or three years.

Mr. TELLER. Longer than that.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask the Senator to cite the printing of documents prior to three or four years ago.

Mr. TELLER. It commenced longer ago than that.

I do not know what is in the paper the Senator from South Dakota asked to have printed. If it is the truth, we ought not to be afraid of it. I have sufficient faith in the intelligence of the American people to believe that the printing of statements that are not true when they are confronted by the truth, as they can be and will be, will do no harm. On the contrary, the printing of a statement that is not the truth, coming from Aguinaldo, would recoil upon him and hurt him more than the refusal here to print a statement he has made.

Now, what the facts are I do not know, but I do believe we ought to have faith enough in the intelligence of the American people to believe that when they understand the whole case, when they have heard both sides of it, without any attempt to suppress a full state-

ment on both sides, there will be no shadow of a doubt that they will arrive at a correct conclusion. I am astonished to find gentlemen on the other side who seem to be moved by a different conviction. Now I will listen to what the Senator from Rhode Island has to say.

Mr. ALDRICH. I simply intended to interject into the Senator's speech the statement that I did not object to Governor Boutwell making a speech or circulating it at his own expense wherever he pleased; I do not object to the national Democratic committee or its chairman printing that speech and circulating it as their own wherever they please; but I do object to the custom of printing political speeches by the Government of the United States and at its expense for circulation as political documents.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The small number of four or five hundred documents which would be printed by order of the Senate is a matter of too small moment to excite the Senator from Rhode Island to this extent.

Mr. ALDRICH. That is quite true; but the Senator does not want to stop there. He wants to send that speech by the thousands and hundreds of thousands throughout the United States as a political document at the expense of the United States and save the money of the national Democratic committee.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Whatever printing of that document would have to be done beyond the few hundred printed for the use of the Senate would have to be done at the expense of the men who wanted to circulate it.

Mr. ALDRICH. But there is the postage. There would be thousands and tens of thousands of dollars expended by the United States Government in circulating the political speeches of an ex-governor.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Post-Office Department was intended to be a public convenience.

Mr. ALDRICH. Not in that way.

Mr. TILLMAN. Your party does it.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. We understand by newspaper reports that there has been the most rigid censorship of the news allowed to come from Manila. If things can be found out which affect the public interest, and if you gentlemen believe you are right, you should have no fear of the public knowing it all. You can only fear the truth. It is not falsehood you fear, because you know perfectly well that the intelligence of the American people can be relied on not to be misled or duped or wheedled by misrepresentation. You have the opportunity. The officers are all on your side. They know all the facts. They can search the records. You can bring out everything to expose the falsity of anything that may be printed.

It is not from any partisan sense that I speak, but I do believe that there has been manifested in the Senate a desire to prevent the full truth from being known. I believe it as honestly as I believe my soul is my own, and believing that, I have no doubt there are thousands of other American people who believe the same thing.

Now, if you want the truth told, as General Lawton suggested and as the Senator from Massachusetts says the public officers want, let it be told. When a Senator comes here and desires to have printed a document which he believes will add to the sum of knowledge of the country on this subject, let it be printed; and if

he chooses to go to the expense of having it printed for distribution, he ought to be allowed to do it. It does seem to me, without any feeling or temper, that the reasonable course is to allow this practice to go on as it has gone on.

Mr. SEWELL. Mr. President, I do not know anything practically about the Boer situation, and I do not wish to take part in its discussion, but I do know something about our own relations to the Philippines. I was not in favor of the Philippine acquisition. I stated emphatically that the islands had a population of from eight to ten million people, a third of whom were civilized, the balance savages and pirates, and that as it took over a hundred years to control the remnant of the American Indians, it was a problem as to how long it would take us to civilize the population of the Philippines. Those were my own opinions; but my duty as a citizen of the United States is above my personal opinions. As soon as the treaty of Paris was concluded and ratified in this body, I sank all that I thought on this subject. I saw the flag attacked. I, as an American citizen, would like to have been there. In that attack on our flag my own personal opinion vanished, and with me it was the country and the flag, right or wrong.

I have followed the fortunes of that flag through all this controversy in the Philippines. I have a gallant son who was on the staff of Lawton and who went with him and received him with his death wound on the field, and I naturally have sympathy with him and with the officers of our Army. I deprecate beyond measure the action of the Senator from South Dakota. I should say that he is a traitor to his country under the circumstances. The idea of bringing in here a paper by the arch-traitor of Manila, the fellow who sold himself out to the Spaniards and now wants to sell himself to us, and defending it and wanting it to be published at the expense of the Congress of the United States, is to me outrageous in the extreme, beyond measure. That a man clothed with the dignity of a Senatorship of the United States, the representative of a sovereign State, should propose here that the man who is in opposition to us, who has carried on the war, should have this as a forum to advocate his own opinions, to be disseminated at large to the people of the United States at the expense of the Congress of the United States, is monstrous in the extreme.

Mr. President, the body of the distinguished Lawton, a personal friend of mine, as gallant a soldier as ever lived, arrived in San Francisco yesterday. The remains will be buried here in a few days. That distinguished gentleman and fine soldier, who was always at the front, stated to me that the war was continued by the men who had not accepted the situation as I had, notably Mr. PETTIGREW, from South Dakota. The life of Lawton is as much chargeable to him to-day as it is to the bullet of the Filipino.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I shall say what it seems to me it is my duty to say, and I shall say it as briefly as I can.

This man Aguinaldo has been exhibited before the world as an embezzler and a scoundrel. He is making a wholly unnecessary war, an unjustifiable war, against the people that delivered him and his people from Spanish control. He knows perfectly well that it is the intention and promise of the United States, practically, as time shall justify it, after peace shall have been restored, to lead them in the path of self-government, beginning with the humblest beginnings, in establishing municipalities, in encouraging internal improvements and education and religious institutions. He knows

all that well. He has only to stop fighting in order to have his people come under the guardianship and generous aid of a great nation of 75,000,000 people.

Now, he publishes this document. The Senator from South Dakota wants it published. It is published already. It is open to any of the gentlemen who like that sort of thing to subscribe a few thousand dollars to circulate it everywhere. But suppose it goes into Manila and is thought a good thing to spread among the soldiers of the United States, what is the inevitable effect of it? To discourage the soldiers, to encourage desertion; and everywhere else it goes the inevitable effect is to discourage enlistment. Is not this to aid and comfort the enemies of the country? It is done deliberately, with a clear knowledge of what will be the result of the action; and the law says that a man shall be responsible for that which is the inevitable effect of what his action is. If he fires a loaded gun down a crowded street he is supposed by the law to intend murder.

I think the men who wish to circulate this document are to be responsible for some of the blood that is shed, and that, I am sorry to say, will have to be shed, before peace has been established there.

Another observation, and perhaps I will quit.

The Senator from South Dakota does not, like a fair-minded man, propose to publish with the Aguinaldo statement the letter of Admiral Dewey, because that would stamp Aguinaldo as a liar, as we know he is. His friend is a liar, an embezzler, a thorough-going scoundrel. He stands by him, and Aguinaldo doubtless considers the Senator his particular friend, and will take good care to publish his remarks among all his so-called constituents, among his troops. And yet the Senator from South Dakota poses as a friend of his country!

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, I do not care to reply to the personal attack upon me, nor to the charge that I am a traitor to my country. I yield to no man in my devotion to my country and my flag. I am jealous of her honor, and I believe that her honor can only be saved from stain by a reversal of the policy into which this Administration has led us. I believe that only by protesting against the violation of our pledges and against the overthrow of all the principles upon which this Government is founded, by insisting upon returning to the doctrines of the fathers, to the principles of the Declaration of Independence—that governments must derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed—can we save our flag from stain and country from dishonor.

That is as much of a reply as I care to make to the insinuations of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] or the statement of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL].

Now, with regard to Aguinaldo, they charge that I am defending a forger and a bribe taker and a scoundrel upon this floor. I will simply read from the record sent to us by the President upon that subject. I will read from Document 62, from the official reports by our officers in Luzon, and we will see whether the statement is sustained by the facts.

Last year the President of the United States in sending the Spanish treaty to this body accompanied it with a document which contained the reports of our consuls in the East and our officers in Luzon. It is presumed that he knew the contents of the document, that he was not ignorant of the records of his own de-

partment. Yet October 13, 1899, the President, at Fargo, in North Dakota, said:

The leader of the insurgent forces says to the American Government, "You can have peace if you give us independence." Peace for independence! He had another price than that for peace once before, but the United States pays no gold for peace. We never gave a bribe for peace in all our history, and we never will.

Wherever that standard is raised, it stands for liberty, for civilization, and humanity.

The President thus charges that Aguinaldo sold out to Spain, reiterating a charge that had been proven false by the repeated statements of his officer; repeating a charge that was conclusively proven untrue by the records of the Department of State.

The charge is now made by the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of this body [Mr. HAWLEY], the Senator from Connecticut, that Aguinaldo sold out to Spain. In Document No. 62, transmitted to us by the President, on pages 380 and 381, General Merritt says:

There are a number of Filipinos whom I have met, among them General Aguinaldo and a few of his leaders, whom I believe thoroughly trustworthy and fully capable of self-government. * * * Aguinaldo, honest, sincere, and poor; not well educated, but a natural leader of men, with considerable shrewdness and ability, highly respected by all.

In a memorandum which General Greene presented to the peace conference at Paris he says:

In August, 1898, an insurrection broke out in Cavite under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, and soon spread to other provinces on both sides of Manila. It continued with varying successes on both sides, and the trial and execution of numerous insurgents, until December, 1897, when the governor-general, Primo de Rivera, entered into written agreement with Aguinaldo, the substance of the document which is in the possession of Señor Felipe Agoncilla, who accompanied me to Washington.

In brief, it required that Agoncilla and the other insurgent leaders should leave the country, the Government agreeing to pay them \$800,000 in silver and promising to introduce numerous reforms, including representation in the Spanish Cortes, freedom of the press, general amnesty for all insurgents, and the expulsion or secularization of the monastic orders.

Aguinaldo and his associates went to Hongkong and Singapore. A portion of the money, \$400,000, was deposited in banks at Hongkong, and a lawsuit soon arose between Aguinaldo and one of his subordinate chiefs named Artacho, which is interesting on account of the very honorable position taken by Aguinaldo.

"On account of the very honorable position taken by Aguinaldo."

Artacho sued for a division of the money among the insurgents according to rank. Aguinaldo claimed that the money was a trust fund, and was to remain on deposit until it was seen whether the Spaniards would carry out their promised reforms, and if they failed to do so, it was to be used to defray the expenses of a new insurrection. The suit was settled out of court by paying Artacho \$5,000.

No steps have been taken to introduce the reforms, more than 2,000 insurgents, who have been deported to Fernando Po and other places, are still in confinement, and Aguinaldo is now using the money to carry on the operations of the present insurrection.

This was written August 30, 1898. He took that money, and used it as our ally to fight Spain, to buy guns and ammunition to carry on the contest against the common enemy; and yet he is charged with being a bribe taker and a scoundrel.

Oscar F. Williams, our consul at Manila, writes to Mr. Day, the Secretary of State, May 25, 1898, on page 328 of Document 62:

To-day I executed a power of attorney whereby General Aguinaldo released to his attorneys in fact \$400,000 now in bank in Hongkong, so that money therefrom can pay for 3,000 stand of arms bought there, and expected here to-morrow.

Mr. Wildman, our consul at Hongkong, reports to Assistant

Secretary Moore exactly the same story, on pages 336 and 337, in Document No. 62. I will not read it, because it is long, but I will insert it, if there is permission, in my remarks.

The matter referred to is as follows:

I have lived among the Malays of the Straits Settlements and have been an honored guest of the different sultanates. I have watched their system of government and have admired their intelligence, and I rank them high among the semicivilized nations of the earth. The natives of the Philippine Islands belong to the Malay race, and while there are very few pure Malays among their leaders, I think their stock has rather been improved than debased by admixture. I consider the forty or fifty Philippine leaders, with whose fortunes I have been very closely connected, both the superiors of the Malays and the Cubans. Aguinaldo, Agoncilla, and Sandico are all men who would all be leaders in their separate departments in any country, while among the wealthy Manila men who live in Hongkong and who are spending their money liberally for the overthrow of the Spaniards and the annexation to the United States, men like the Cortes family and the Basa family, would hold their own among bankers and lawyers anywhere.

* * * * *
There has been a systematic attempt to blacken the name of Aguinaldo and his cabinet on account of the questionable terms of their surrender to Spanish forces a year ago this month. It has been said that they sold their country for gold, but this has been conclusively disproved, not only by their own statements but by the speech of the late Governor-General Rivera in the Spanish Senate June 11, 1898. He said that Aguinaldo undertook to submit if the Spanish Government would give a certain sum to the widows and orphans of the insurgents. He then admits that only a tenth part of this sum was ever given to Aguinaldo, and that the other promises made he did not find it expedient to keep.

I was in Hongkong September, 1897, when Aguinaldo and his leaders arrived under contract with the Spanish Government. They waited until the 1st of November for the payment of the promised money and the fulfillment of the promised reforms. Only \$400,000, Mexican, was ever placed to their credit in the banks, and on the 3d of November Mr. F. Agoncilla, late minister of foreign affairs in Aguinaldo's cabinet, called upon me and made a proposal, which I transmitted to the State Department in my dispatch No. 19, dated November 3, 1897. In reply the State Department instructed me "to courteously decline to communicate with the Department further regarding the alleged mission." I obeyed these instructions to the letter until the breaking out of the war, when, after consultation with Admiral Dewey, I received a delegation from the insurgent junta, and they bound themselves to obey all laws of civilized warfare and to place themselves absolutely under the orders of Admiral Dewey if they were permitted to return to Manila. At this time their president, Aguinaldo, was in Singapore negotiating through Consul-General Pratt with Admiral Dewey for his return.

On page 347 of Document No. 62 Mr. Pratt, our consul at Singapore, June 2, 1898, makes the following statement to Mr. Day:

No close observer of what had transpired in the Philippines during the past few years could have failed to recognize that General Aguinaldo enjoyed above all others the confidence of the Filipino insurgents and the respect alike of Spaniards and foreigners in the islands, all of whom vouch for his high sense of justice and honor.

Mr. Schurman, in his Chicago interview (and this is the only authority I will read which is not vouched for by official documents) August 20, 1899, said:

[President Schurman, Chicago interview, August 20, 1899.]

General Aguinaldo is believed on the island to be honest, and I think that he is acting honestly in money matters, but whether from moral or political reasons I would not say.—*Oriental American*, page 99.

The fact of the matter is that he tried to bribe the insurgents, as near as we can ascertain, and failed; they would not take gold for peace.

Now, I should like to ask the imperialists in this body what they think of a President who will go about the country saying that Aguinaldo had another price for peace, in the face of the official documents from his own officers in the State Department, where

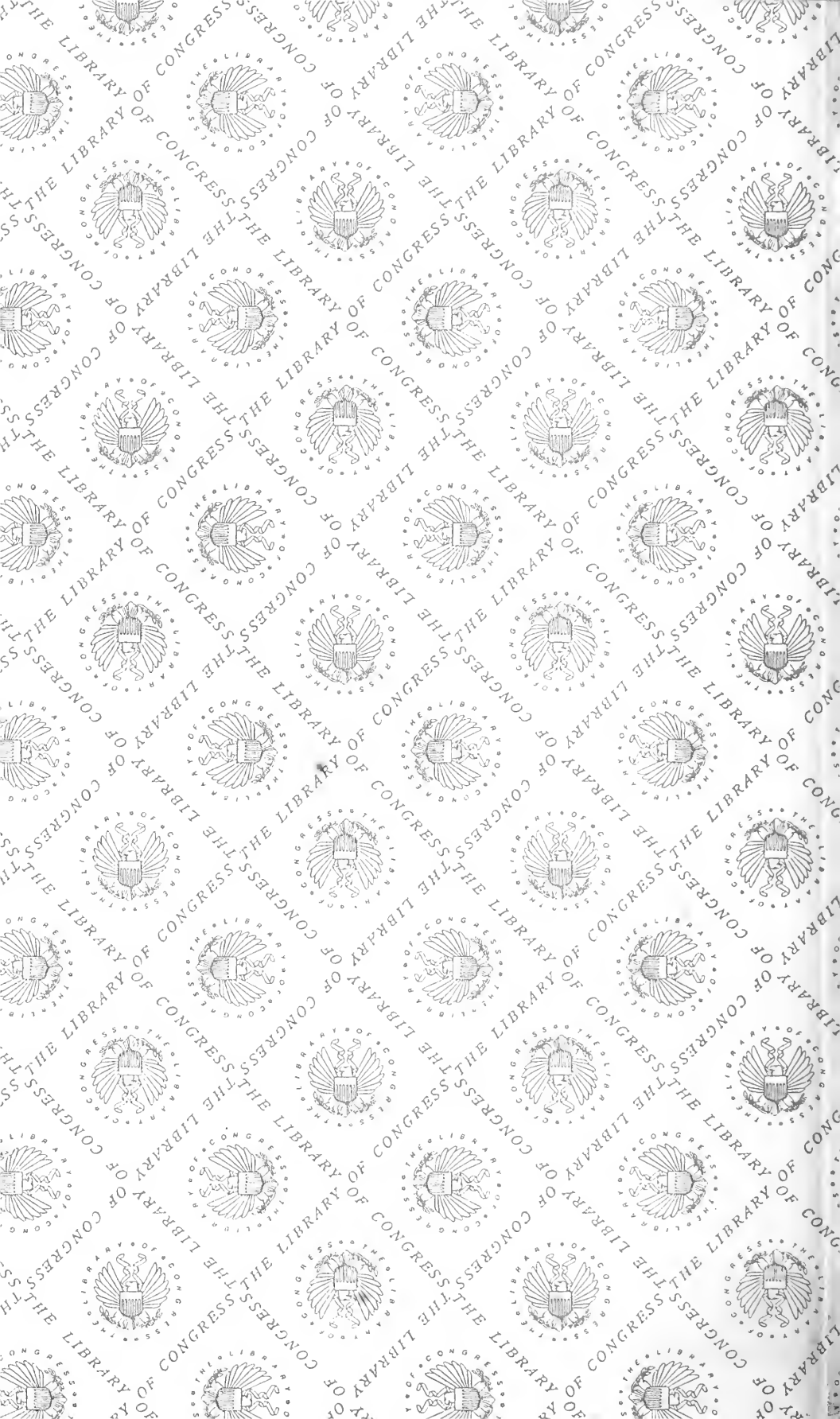
they declare that he acted with the highest sense of honor, that he took no bribe, but, on the contrary, deposited the money, and used it, when Spain failed to carry out her promises, to help us fight the Spanish forces?

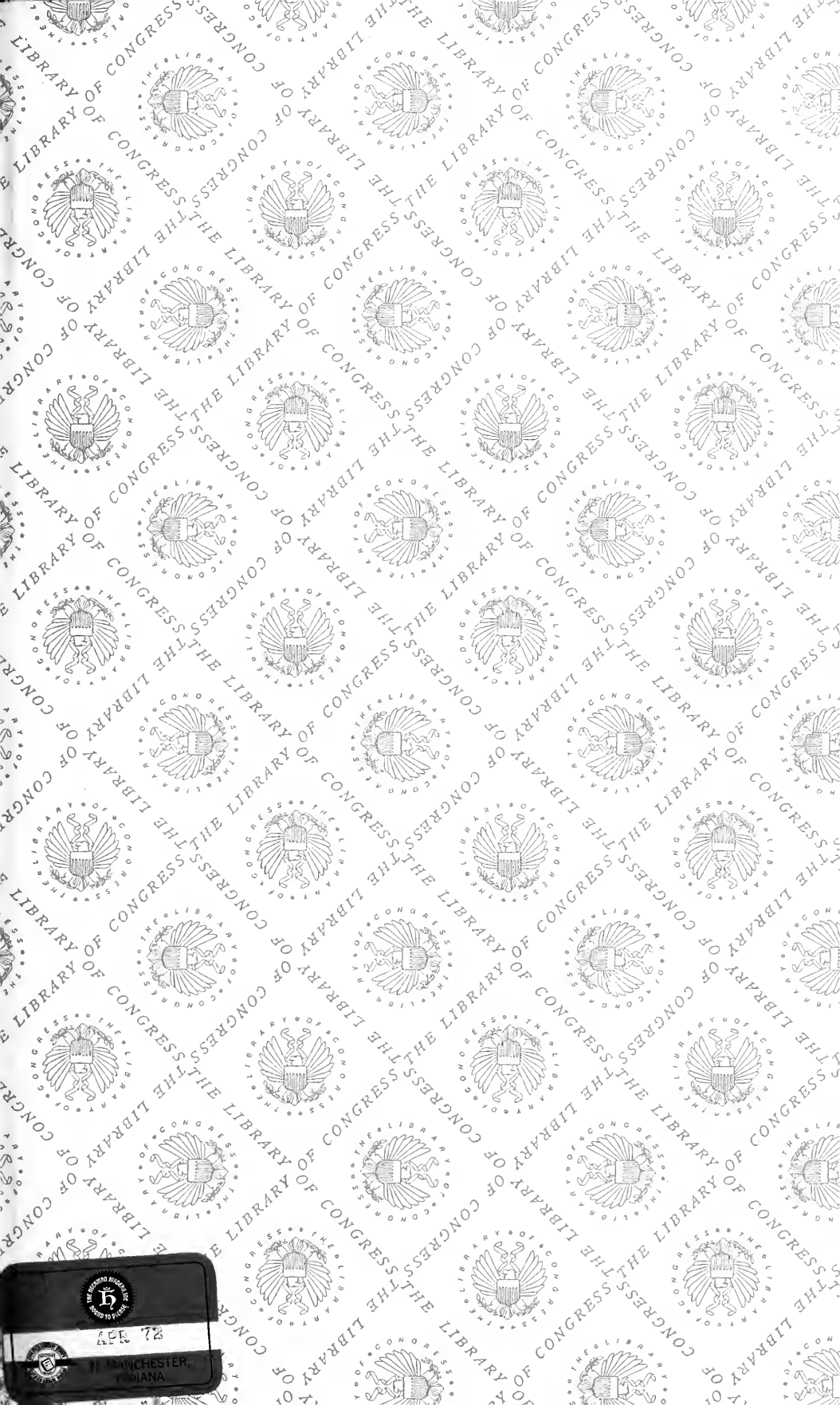
What do you think of a President that will state that the United States never did give gold for peace, and never will, and then approve of the treaty with the Sultan of Sulu, which provides that we shall pay to the Sultan \$250 per month and to his subchiefs a sum which in all amounts to \$9,200 per year? In view of all these facts, of what future value is any statement the President may make upon this subject? Mr. President, I can not contemplate the fact without great sorrow that a man can occupy so high a position as that of President of the United States and yet disgrace that great office by repeated falsehoods—falsehoods proven so by the record of his own officers sent to us.

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